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AUTHOR	Goode, David A.
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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses economic, social, and political trends and values/beliefs that will affect the quality of life of persons with developmental disabilities and their families to the year 2000. The paper describes four plausible future scenarios: "America Revitalized"; "Post-Industrial Reformation"; "The Stressed Society"; and "The Community-Welfare Society." An overview of current values in the field of developmental disabilities examines the degree of consensus about such values as independence, productivity, integration, normalization, and quality of life. The paper then delineates implications of each future scenario for persons with disabilities, including the relationship between what is currently seen as desirable (current values) and what may occur. A most probable future is then forecasted, and implications for organizations that serve persons with disabilities are presented in such areas as values, employment, integration, technology, quality of services, minorities, support services, housing, and education. (Includes 23 references.) (JDD)

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Towards the Year 2000: Values and Trends Affecting Persons with Developmental Disabilities

United Way Futurists Forecast Alternative Scenarios for Persons with Disabilities to Year 2000

During the 80's, the United Way convened 35 high level corporate, private and academic future forecasters to advise them about the development of United Way for the next ten to fifteen years (United Way, 1984). The results of these persons' efforts was a well-articulated set of predictions directly related to people with disabilities. United Way also issued, in 1990, another look into our future, "Change Drivers", which was utilized in this report to describe possible futures.

Utilizing the methodology of *future scenarios development*, the original group identified key societal forces that would influence United Way: (1) restructuring of society; (2) economic growth or decline; (3) changes in social values; (4) changes in ideology; (5) the welfare system and its functioning; and (6) the restructuring of the economy. Utilizing these themes, it identified two primary factors influencing future scenarios: the growth or decline of the economy and the survival of traditional values or growth of communitarian ones. Based upon these factors four plausible "future scenarios" were developed by the group.

The first scenario, "America Revitalized," was based upon the assumptions that the economy would increase (revitalize) its industrial strength, and that traditional values would persist. This plausible scenario represents a relatively optimistic view of a future that would be characterized by economic prosperity and a "can do" attitude in business and government. Traditional values such as economic achievement and mobility, self-reliance, and competition predominate. The private sector reindustrializes our economy and expands computer and microelectronics industries. Economic indicators are positive with unemployment varying from 7-12%, inflation 4-10%, a GNP of 3.5%

Through a consideration of current values associated with the field and forecasting information, this paper describes economic, social and political trends and values/beliefs that will affect the quality of life of persons with disabilities and their families to the year 2000.

There are four sections to this paper:

- **Alternative Future Scenarios to the Year 2000 (page1), describes four plausible futures for America in 2000.**
- **An Overview of Current Values in the Field of Developmental Disabilities examines current, important values that are associated with people with disabilities (page 3) ("Social Values Critical Factor in Determining Quality Services, Policies.")**
- **Implications of Scenarios for Persons with Developmental Disabilities (page 5), delineates implications of each future scenario for persons with disabilities, including the relationship between what is currently seen as desirable (current values) and what may occur.**
- **Implications for Organizations that Serve Persons with Disabilities (page 9), presents implications for those who support people with disabilities and their families. Implications based on one probable future are discussed.**

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and an underground economy comprising about 15% of economic activity.

Because of the success of the private sector there is an increasingly limited role for the federal government. Conservative political and economic policies would prevail, with social spending declining as a proportion of the GNP. With a successful economy, welfare needs diminish but spending on education and health increases. Linked to workforce issues there is a particular emphasis on increased resources for education and improvement of educational performance.

A second future scenario, called "Post-Industrial Reformation," involved the economic assumption that the economy restructures itself successfully around telecommunications/electronics and that, partially as a result of the anomie created by economic change, traditional values become less individual and more communitarian; a kind of humanitarian capitalism prevails in which social and personal values are less materialistic and more inner directed. As in the 1960s, self-actualization, social responsibility, cooperation and compassion is emphasized. The successful restructuring of the economy inspires a confident, though experimental, attitude. The society restructures itself and develops the infrastructure of an information-based, telecommunications-based economy. This produces significant social change and the federal government would have a primary role in supporting the economic and social changes required in restructuring. There is an emphasis on private-public partnerships. Economic indicators are not as strong as in the reindustralized economy.

Reflecting a new emphasis on individual entrepreneurship, the underground economy would grow to as much as 40% of economic activity. While unemployment may initially be high, it stabilizes at between seven and 13%. Inflation fluctuates between four and 12%. Economic and social policies are interdependent, with an explicit plan related to successful restructuring of the economy. Social spending increases as a proportion of the GNP, with emphasis on products and individuals affected by restructuring. Educationally there is a massive effort at increasing the level of proficiency of all students with particular emphasis on computer literacy and adult education.

The remaining two scenarios assume economic distress. One of these "the Stressed Society", is a future characterized by hard times -- the continued existence of traditional competitive/materialistic values coupled with a serious economic collapse. Under this scenario, attempts by the private sector and government to ensure economic restructuring fail. A mood of pessimism characterizes the society with individuals increasingly occupied with issues of security and survival. There is an "us" and "them" mentality. With the closings of plants there is chronic high unemployment (17% or higher) and the growth of a large underclass. Unions become radicalized. At the same time, a massive growth in the underground economy, to as much as 50% of economic activity, occurs because of the attractiveness of barter and non-taxable incomes. There would be an emphasis on social welfare with control of the private sector emphasized. The spending on unemployment compensation, welfare, and public works rises and is constrained by revenue short falls. Radical economics a la the Depression Era is adopted. Education experiences serious erosion of resources and decline in quality with the exception of very affluent schools.

In the last scenario, "the Community-Welfare Society", economic failure is accompanied by a radical shift toward communitarian values. Because of the failure of the economic restructuring, there is a new and heightened awareness of resource utilization issues, ecological impact, stress on conservation and upon local self-sufficiency. America's position in the world economy erodes and, on the national level, the economy becomes increasingly regionalized.

The mood of society is mixed, reflecting both the optimism of value shifts and pessimism of economic failure. There is increased decentralization and growth of local self-help groups and special interest groups to replace government aid programs. With the proliferation of local cooperatives, there is an increase of the underground economy to as much as 40% of economic activity. Chronic unemployment to as much as 17% is possible.

While political philosophy supports decentralization and experimentation in local government, there is serious constraints on all governmental spending and an increased emphasis upon voluntarism as a way to meet human needs. Educationally, there is increasing regional variation in organization and quality of education. Across these regional variations will be an emphasis to increase work-related competencies and skills.

America Revitalized and Post Industrial Reformation were given a 36% chance of occurrence. The Stressed Society was given a 40% chance of occurrence and the Community Welfare Society a 20% chance.

The most likely sequence of occurrence was America Revitalized, followed by the Stressed Society, and then by the Post-Industrial Reformation, which was given a 42% likelihood of occurrence.

One interesting feature of these scenarios is their particular relevance to persons with disabilities and their families.

Social Values-- Crtical Factor In Determining Quality Services, Policies

It is the thesis of this section that a great deal of consensus exists in our field about values associated with people who have disabilities and their families, and that the fact such consensus exists is an important determinant of futures for them. In fact, the relative importance of values and ideas

versus objective factors such as economy, technology, and demography in determining what happens in history is a very old debate in philosophy and science. Many social historians and scientists today hold that *both* values/beliefs and objective factors are important determinants of what occurs in society, and that these phenomena directly influence one another.

The history of values in this century associated with people who have disabilities illustrate this relationship well. The beginning of the century saw the theory of eugenics grounding a negative and low value for people with disabilities. This view, coupled with difficult economic and political times in Germany after World War I, created the euthanasia program against persons with disabilities. In the middle part of this century, and in reaction to earlier mistreatment and eugenics of people with disabilities, there began a positive change in the values associated with this population.

"Thirty -five years ago parents revolted and protested the neglect and exclusion of their children with mental retardation. The most significant progress since that time has been the emergence of individuals with mental retardation as persons in their own right. As fellow human beings claiming their place in our society." (Dybwad, 1985)

Indeed, the past thirty-five years have seen great progress in the recognition that persons with disabilities are valuable citizens. Further, with the advent of the principles of normalization in human services for people with disabilities and its focus on "conscious rather than unconscious ideologies" in services, there has been an increasingly explicit concern with values.

Today, many ideological leaders in the disabilities field hold that values are the critical factor in determining quality services. For example, Bersani (1988) writes: "Services for people with severe handicaps must begin with a clear value base. Service system policies and daily practices will then be derived from those values." Thus, seeing values at the core of services and supports for persons with disabilities is a belief maintained by many factions in the disability field. For a variety of reasons (see Wolfensberger, 1983) values are seen as playing a primary role in determining quality services, and there is a current emphasis upon being explicit about values in policy, programs and services, accreditation, evaluation, and advocacy.

What Are Current Values In the Field of Disabilities?

In considering the degree of consensus about values in the field of disabilities, a variety of sources were examined: normalization, social role, valorization: the Developmental Disabilities Act, Accreditation Council for Developmental Disabilities Standards, A National Quality of Life Project reflecting significant input of persons with disabilities; and works by leaders in the field of disabilities (Bersani, 1988: Mount, 1988: Weick, 1988). The value content abstracted from these sources is presented in Table 1 (page 4).

An important caveat concerning the interpretation of these statements can be found in Weick's treatment of the ways factions in the disabilities field utilize the term "community" (Weick, 1988). She describes seven distinct groups employing the term in quite different ways: institution as community, community according to quantificationists, the balanced group, political integrationists, ideological integrationists, bridge builders and Joshua Committees.

The most liberal usage of the term is with the "institution as community" group who argue basically that any social arrangement is a community. The last group associates the term with completely generic resources and voluntary relationships. The "balanced group" believes that community really means a full continuum of services of all types and sizes.

What *is* important about Weick's observation is that it points out how persons can agree at a high level of abstraction about a value proposition such as, "Persons with disabilities should live in the community," but mean very different things by the phrase. Since all the statements in Table l are at a very high level of abstraction, this will tend to mask some of these underlying differences in the definitions of terms such as integration, productivity or independence. This suggests a somewhat guarded interpretation of values consensus.

While there are some clear differences in language and content, in some ways, Dybwad's phrase, "the emergence of individuals with mental retardation as persons in their own right, as fellow human beings claiming their place in our society," captures the essence of each of these value systems. There are many commonalities to them. Each system emphasizes the value of individuals with a disability and of the social roles afforded to them. They all stress full participation in the options afforded non-disabled members of society.

Each of these systems describe persons with disabilities having autonomy and choice in major decisions effecting their lives. All systems stress the community integration of people with disabilities in both social and economic life. While other parallels in content exist, if one wanted to sum up the essence of these recommendations it could be stated: ***"Persons with disabilities should be allowed the same protections, advantages, rights, responsibilities, choices and options as non-disabled members of society"***. On this very high level of abstraction there would appear consensus so basic as to appear almost obvious in 1991; consider how different a value orientation existed thirty-fiive years ago for the parents described by Dybwad.

It will be from this value orientation that future scenarios for persons with disabilities will be evaluated.

Table 1
Current Values in the Field of Disabilities

Source	Social Role Valorization (1983)	DD Act Amendments (1987)	ACDD 1990 Draft Standards (1988)	QOL Project (1988)	Professional Article
Values and Dynamics	1. Devaluation and deviancy-making require societal action. 2. People should have valued social roles (i.e., be accepted by society, treated with dignity, respect and love). 3. Methods to achieve valued social roles must be valued. 4. Actors in human services. 5. Valued social roles promote positive social behavior. 6. More vulnerable people need extra protection against devaluation. 7. Vulnerable people need to have their personal competencies developed. 8. Social images surrounding disabled people should be positive. 9. People should be integrated into the valued life of society as much as possible. 10. People should experience a normal degree of autonomy and choice. 11.. People should be free to chose an age appropriate life style accessiuble to others. 12. People should be able to take risks appropriate to the pursuit of a valued life style. 13. Physical settings, social groupings and service activities should enhance normal life-style, behaviors and relationships. 14. Services should address real urgent needs.	1. To reach maximum potential through increased independence, productivity and integration into the community. 2. To have their capabilities, personal needs and preferences recognized regardless of the severity of their disabilities. 3. To make decisions for themselves to the maximum degree possible. 4. To live in typical homes and communities. 5. To exercise full rights and responsibilities as citizens. 6. To involve family and community as central to their welfare. 7. To have individualized, specialized life long assistance that is coordinated. 8. To be able to compete for employment in integrated work sites. 9. To have the same legal and human rights as other citizens and these need to be ensured.	1. Integration, independence and productivity. 2. Community is natural environment to live, work and play. 3. Social relationships are what support individuals. 4. People with disabilities have the same right as other citizens. 5. Principles of normalization (to be able to live as normal a lifestyle as possible). 6. To have services that are age appropriate. 7. To have services in the least restrictive alternative. 8. The individual and/or family should control participation with services. 9. Individual is primary source of information about him or herself.	1. QOL emphasizes the whole person not the disability. 2. QOL focuses on strengths and abilities of people with disabilities. 3. People with disabilities are essentially the same as people without. 4. People with disabilities want to be able to make the same choices as others in society. 5. People with disabilities want friends and to participate in real social relationships in the community; to be romantic or sexual. 6. People with disabilities want to be economically independent and socially productive. 7. People with disabilities should be able to participate as full citizens. 8. People with disabilities need to be able to take risks appropriate to their goals. 9. QOL is determined first and primarily by the perspective of the individual regardless o the level of disability.	Mount et. al (1988) 1. A network of social relationships is greatest safeguard of QOL. 2. Trust, caring, love, mutual growth and cooperation are the basis for real life in the community. 3. Emphasis on the capacity of people with disabilities. 4. Hope for options and possibilities. 5. Empowerment and control over one's own lif 6. Flexibility, listening and letting the person with disability run the show. 7. Dreams of the person with disabilities for support services. Weick (1988) 1. "Peopler first" language and thinking. 2. Emphasis on love and friendship. 3. Emphasis on continuity and stability. 4. Dignity and respect. 5. Opportunities and information needed to exercise rights and make choices. 6. Emphasis on decent living standards. 7. Rights to contribute an to be productive. 8. "Integration" in the community. 9. Evaluations based on strengths and capabilities. 10. Planning a network of relationships. Bersani (1988) 1. Values are basis for policy and practice. 2. Importance of civil rights. 3. Full integration and full citizenship. 4. Families need to be supported. 5. Consumer participation self-adovocacy. 6. Stress on community based instruction. 7. People first language. 8. Focus on relationships. 9. Public, consumer monitoring.

Implications of Scenarios for Persons with Developmental Disabilities

Scenarios are discussed in their most probable sequence of occurrence as determined by the United Way Planning Group: America Revitalized, The Stressed Society, Post-industrial Reformation, and the Community-Welfare Society.

Scenario 1. America Revitalized.

What is distinctive about this scenario is that it is based upon two conservative assumptions-- that America's industrial economy will be successfully revitalized and not falter, and that the current emphasis on individual, entrepreneurial and material values will continue.

In the revitalized economy the years 1990 to 2010 will have the baby-boomers in the prime of their producing and consuming lives. These are very well educated and skilled laborers who hold key positions and make key decisions. They are also productive and reliable consumers, the demographic basis for some optimism for the economy between now and their retirement in 2010-2020.

Because of the nature of the economic assumptions of this scenario, the mood of the society is described as optimistic. On the whole, successful reindustrialization would be a good development for all citizens including those with disabilities and their families who would share in the wealth and positive mood of the society.

But, the fact that individual and competitive values remain dominant would effect the kinds of expectations that might be applied to persons with disabilities, and this probably would not be seen as a good thing by some factions.

With the dominance of the baby boom generation as the decision makers and major consumers of the 1980's and 1990's, it may not be unreasonable to forecast the continued dominance of values such as material entitlement, narcissism, and competition that are *"incompatible with the more humanistic concerns for the needy, including the handicapped" (Yates, 1986)*. The predominance of the private sector over the public sector might signify a shift in policy and practice in the field as well, but given the low unemployment, wealth and increase in education and health spending projected by this scenario, increasing influence of the private sector does not appear a threat to persons with disabilities. While this scenario does not appear to be ideal for persons with disabilities, it would contain opportunities to achieve greater citizenship and societal participation.

Technology. One important development in the future lives of persons with disabilities that would occur in this scenario is the increased application of technology to better the lives of people with disabilities. We are in the midst of a revolutionary era in disability-related technology with rapid advances in electronics, miniaturization and other basic areas of research. Human service applications from these advances is found in both preventative (genetic engineering) and habilitative technologies. Weick (1988) describes major areas of habilitative impact by technology for persons with disabilities: enhanced communication, increased mobility, ease of calculation, use of robotics in personal care, and modification of the work environment for people with severe disabilities.

Yates (1986) documents the potential of computers in special education including computer aided instruction, computer literacy, new roles for teachers, new information and retrieval systems, habilitative applications opening new vistas to people with disabilities, and the use of expert systems. These applications are seen as having such great potential to improve the lives of students with special educational needs that their possible curtailment is described as a "tragedy". There is such consensus about the importance and potential benefits of technology in the lives of persons with disabilities that federal legislation, PL 100-407, dealing specifically with this topic, was passed in 1989.

There can be no doubt that the preventive and habilitative potential of technology for persons with disabilities is tremendous and that we will see the growth of habilitation technologies under any of the projected scenarios, all in all a good development. But it is important to acknowledge the limitations of technology and the serious issues it poses. Bersani (1988) argues that the stigmatizing potential of technologies for persons with disabilities is a real concern that requires a marriage of "high tech/soft touch." He reminds us that the use of technology only makes sense as a way to integrate people into the community and enhance their relationships.

A serious question related to all present and future technologies is access. Who gets to use the available high tech options? Under each of the scenarios being discussed there would be a different approach to making technology available. For example, scenario one would envision a private sector initiative, perhaps aided by government regulations, to sell and generate profit from high technologies for people with disabilities. People would buy and purchase new technologies. Under the Community-Welfare scenario, where the economy is very weak and communitarian values are dominant, there would more likely be government run sharing of high technology (as we find in European social medicine systems). Technology poses questions to all possible futures. Who will get to use it? How will access be determined? Who will pay for it and its maintenance? These are important questions for habilitative technology; for medical technology (especially life sustaining technologies), they are extremely critical questions for the society.

Housing. In this and other future scenarios, profound effects will be made by the baby boom generation as it moves through its life cycle. Some of these effects are positive, such as the stability they will provide as economic producers and

consumers until 2010. Other of these effects will be negative, such as the threat to the Social Security System that their retirement will constitute, or their contribution to the housing crunch. A particularly distressing development for persons with disabilities linked to this generation is the housing crunch.

Baby boomers have a strong interest in single unit housing and this has helped drive up the value of homes. In urban areas, particularly, houses are increasingly unaffordable and difficult for middle income families to purchase. The housing crunch will effect especially urban areas between now and 2010, with possibly serious implications for people with developmental disabilities. Newitt (1984) writes: "This housing squeeze can also set back the substitution of group homes for large residential units." This argument is particularly pertinent for the America Revitalized and Post-industrial Reformation scenarios where the strong economy underwrites the ability of home owners to buy and maintain expensive housing.

Supports and Services. Yet another key set of issues that will confront people with disabilities and their families in a revitalized America is the nature and location of supports and services. Naisbet (1982) notes that only 7% of the population fits the "traditional"family structure (father working, mother at home, two children). Yates (1986) and others talk about the increasing role of the workplace as the delivery site for services. Services and supports will follow the changing nature of social groups and their patterns of participation in the society. Should the traditional family no longer be the unit of intervention? What implications does this have to family support, or to helping special education populations in poor minority areas? If the economy is as envisioned under the revitalized scenario and the private sector is increasingly involved in education and provision of services, what will services at the job site be for persons with disabilities? The issues of what is the unit of society for which we provide services, and where services will be delivered, will have to be answered in any future for persons with disabilities.

A related set of questions that will have to be answered in this and all other scenarios are those of who will deliver services, who will pay for them and how will they be financed?

Under a revitalized economy there will be an ample amount of resources to build a service system. The shortage of trained professionals to staff this system will not be as acute in this scenario as it would in ones where there is relatively little spending on social services. Similarly, the issues related to where finances for services come from will be more acute in futures where the economy is shifting and unsure (Post-Industrial Reformation) or failing to thrive (The Stressed Society and Community-Welfare Society).

How services will be supported fiscally is a question under serious examination at this time. The New Way of Thinking (Minnesota GPCD, 1987) about financing is that it be tied to persons rather than programs, that it be flexible (to permit children to receive services at home), that it use incentives to promote the use of the least restrictive and most effective services, that it reward good performance and not reward poor performance, that it give providers incentives for good performance (preferred providers), that it be linked to the choices made by the individual with a disability, and be open and flexible enough to support these choices. This orientation, appearing at a time when the economy is in relatively good condition, may change under severe conditions such as that of the stressed society.

Scenario 2. The Stressed Society

In this scenario, the economy has basically failed both reindustrialization and/or reformation (see Post-industrial Reformation below), and the values of society are pragmatic--us or them, with a survival orientation. The mood of society is pessimistic and conflict is common.

These factors, coupled with high unemployment, possibly high inflation, and 'radical economics *a la* the Depression era', do not indicate a desirable future for Americans, and particularly for people with disabilities. One would expect "hard times"--especially for those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. This would mean across the board difficulties for people with disabilities in terms of their employment, standard of living, and degree of support from formal and informal sources. It is not that programs and services would disappear, but they would be extremely limited, and perhaps minimally sustaining.

There are a number of reasons to predict at least an economic decline for America. Many of the forecasting sources cited described the internationalization of the American economy. Naisbet (1982), for example, writes: "Our economy is becoming part of a global structure, moving away from isolation and selfsufficiency. As a result, we will no longer be the world's most dominant force."

Negative economic scenarios are based upon the failure of either reindustrialization, or industrial reformation into high technology, or some wild card scenario (failure of third world country payments on loans and collapse of the international banking community). It is possible to see this scenario as a transitory ten year period that is eventually resolved through the success of either of these strategies (as indicated by the United Way group), or to see it as an end state after the failure of both (this latter being the worst worse case scenario which will be dealt with briefly below).

Some forecasters see the period when the baby boom generation begins to retire (around 2010 to 2020) as a critical period for the American Society. This is due to a confluence of many factors, including the projected lack of a skilled and trained work force to take the baby boomers place.

Using exploratory forecasting, Yates (1986) presents demographic and economic data that describes a "two-tiered

system of citizenship--a mostly white, well educated, well employed, financially secure elite, a small segment of the population; and a much larger, under-educated, under-employed, limited economic-contributing, mainly ethnic minority population (p.17)." (Note 2) This scenario has serious implications for minority members with disabilities.

Minority youths will occupy an increasing proportion of the population. Because of their high unemployment rate, high drop out rate, increased involvement in crime, alcohol and drugs, and teen pregnancy, one would expect to find an increased number of minority children with disabilities. These disabilities will be primarily of environmental rather than genetic origin. Should these trends continue, disabilities will become increasingly a minority issue. This same scenario of a two-tiered society is also applicable to lesser degrees in the Post-industrial Reformation and America Revitalized scenarios.

While an enumeration of all the woes that would befall persons with disabilities under this scenario is not profitable, a brief examination of what might be the worst case scenario may be. In a landmark article about the potential dangers faced by people with disabilities, Wolfensberger (1981) reminds us that a modern Western society rationalized putting to death persons with disabilities as a social policy, and that we could do the same. Even if the potential for mass euthanasia may not exist, that of hurtful social policies, during "hard times" does. If a future such as this ever does develop, it will be incumbent upon those who value persons with disabilities to vigorously advocate for and protect them.

Scenario 3. Post-industrial Reformation

Since both economy and values change in this scenario, it is in some ways the most dynamic and reflects trends that have been noted about American life. Here we see America as the information society--the successful restructuring of the American economy from industry to telecommunications/electronics. Coupled with this, and partly as a result of restructuring economically, will be a shifting of values away from the traditional. The inner-directness, self-actualization, non-materialism, compassion and cooperation of twenty-five years ago (the 1960's) will become dominant. The times will be cautiously optimistic, with confidence, experimentation and commitment to a successful restructuring prevailing. There will be an increase in social spending and the economy will remain fairly strong.

The shift of the American economy away from manufacturing is undeniable, as is its increasing involvement in telecommunications, information industries (Naisbet, 1982). In 1880, 80% of workers made things. In 1980, 31% manufacture objects and labor economists project that by 2000 only 10% of workers will be making goods (McNight. 1980). The scenario of Post-industrial Reformation would lead one to believe that workers are going into these hi-tech industries, but that may be largely untrue.

Simultaneous to the death of industry and birth of telecommunications/information in America is the development of a "service economy," and this is where many new workers will find employment. In this transition, many workers between now and the year 2000 will be geographically or career-wise displaced. Americans will learn to tolerate change in their lives.

But telecommunications/information industries may not absorb many workers with developmental disabilities. Rather, as described by Yates (1986), workers will be expected to have higher standards of performance if these technical industries are to successfully compete in an international labor market. One must be suspicious how students with developmental disabilities will fare under more rigorous performance and competency standards. The creation of the information society is more likely to help set up the "two-tiered system" described by Yates--with minorities and persons with disabilities in the bottom tier and *not* benefitting vocationally from these industries.

A major issue facing the employment of persons with disabilities in this and to a lesser degree other scenarios is "What is the cost-benefit ratio of a policy that supports and encourages employment of elderly and persons with disabilities?" Under this scenario there will be a tremendous amount of worker dislocation--both geographically and career wise. Jobs in the white collar sector will be shrinking. There will be a large surplus of uneducated, minority youth to compete for entry level service positions. It is not unreasonable to consider the possibility that under labor market conditions such as these, persons with disabilities may slip even into the ranks of the chronically unemployed welfare recipients.

What will these members of the bottom tier do? One interesting prediction is that they will become service workers and service consumers, the engine and the raw material for a service economy (McNight, 1980). By the year 2000, 90% of workers will provide services, with 15-20 million people entering jobs in the service economy. Most of these will be entry level positions requiring little educational preparation or skills. McNight uses the example of the register operator at a fast food restaurant who only needs to be able to associate specific foods with particular colors in order to operate a cash register because the machine does the rest.

The service economy is constructing jobs that can be manned by a huge pool of unskilled minority youth who will be paid minimum wage, develop few skills, and have very limited career movement. It is here, if persons with disabilities are able to secure jobs in a competitive job market, where you will find workers with developmental disabilities. This is not necessarily a bad thing if one believes that having a job is better than not; even if the jobs may not be the most remunerative or rewarding.

McNight (1980:17-18) argues that the switch to a service economy will have a negative impact upon persons with developmental disabilities as consumers of services, casting

them in roles of dependency. The service economy requires that persons have needs and remain dependent upon services for them.

"In a service economy, the welfare recipient is the raw material for the case workers, administrators, doctors, lawyers, mental health workers, drug counselors, youth workers, and police offenders. Do the servicers need the recipient more than she needs them?" The promotion of clienthood and dependency is, in terms of what we have identified as the desirable future for persons with developmental disabilities, a very negative thing. In this view, certain institutions and interests in society are advantaged by the dependency and clienthood, the coal and ore of the service system. McNight is passionate in his plea that we recognize our enemies, resist clienthood, and oppose the dependency of the American people.

Thus the reformation of the economy towards a more service oriented economy will have both opportunities and dangers for persons with disabilities. Many low-level service jobs will be available, but the possibility of continued dependency through clienthood exists. Should the trend towards the service economy continue, persons concerned for the welfare of people with disabilities will need to represent their interests to ensure that they are not kept dependent through a services model. McNight points out that we define needs and human deficiencies to meet the services that we want to provide (rather than the reverse logic of designing services to meet needs we want met). As a society we need to examine the way we define "needs" in people with disabilities.

An important part of the reformation scenario is the emphasis on public participation in decision-making. This feature of the scenario is consistent with contemporary developments in the disabilities field with its emphasis on public participation and citizenship for persons with disabilities.

Fawcett, et. al. (1982) have forcefully argued for an approach to policy that is committed to "active participation of the many in the decision-making of our basic institutions." They, and others, have suggested "...the importance of input from consumers in setting improvement agendas that are sensitive to the unique aspects of local service contexts." These authors suggest a method to collect data about the strengths and problems of services from the perspective of consumers. Their approach is consistent with the increasing involvement of persons with disabilities in public policy development.

Programs such as the Partners in Policy in Minnesota, and self-advocacy groups participating in policy development such as the World Institute on Disabilities or the People First groups are indications today of a growing consumer movement in services for persons with disabilities. Not only do these groups train consumers in advocacy skills, they actually develop policy.

This is important not only because it is part of the desirable future for persons with disabilities, but also because self-advocacy may become an increasingly vital skill if the service economy functions as McNight envisions. Self-advocacy groups tend to be resource poor and unsophisticated. Their growth has been slow but consistent over the past twenty years. Their continued growth is very likely. Self-advocacy and participation in policy development is part of the present and likely future of people with developmental disabilities in several of the scenarios.

Scenario 4. The Community Welfare Society

In this most unlikely scenario, the American economy slows and continues to lose its place in the world market. Unemployment rises. Values emphasize conserving resources, ecology and local self-sufficiency. The mood of the society is a blend of optimism and confusion (due to shifting values and failing economy). There are severe limitations on government spending on social welfare programs, but there is a communitarian political philosophy with an emphasis on experimentation with local governance and voluntarism. Neighborhood self-help and local and regional special interest groups take root with decentralization.

While a slow economy is not to the advantage of persons with disabilities, in some ways this scenario could present opportunities for persons with disabilities. Community governance, local self-sufficiency, community special interest groups, and volunteers--these are key elements of the vision of life offered by Joshua Committees and Bridge Builders, who would find the growth of this future in many ways conducive to their program (Note 3). Representative of this viewpoint Mount et. al. (1988) wrote:

> *"Many of us share a vision for building community for people with disabilities. We believe that a network of personal relationships based upon caring, cooperation and mutual growth, is the greatest safeguard to the quality of life for us all" (p.23).*

But, it would appear that the many opportunities for active participation in support networks and local self-governance might exist in this future for persons with disabilities would have to be weighed against the probability that with high unemployment and a weak economy jobs will be difficult to obtain.

The Community Welfare Society scenario is very different from what we observe today. It reflects the trend toward decentralization in American society noted by many of the forecasters. Under a radical decentralization the institutions of society would function very differently. Certainly the roles of governmental agencies serving persons with disabilities would change radically-performing increasingly coordinative functions rather than developing central policies and solutions. As a result of decentralization and com-

munity governance, there would be great regional and local variations in the kinds, quantities and quality of services and supports for persons with disabilities.

Implications for Organizations Serving People with Disabilities

How can these possible futures for persons with developmental disabilities be employed by those planning and providing services? Wilson (1984:p.2) suggests the following general approach to utilizing future scenarios in planning:

1) analyze each for potential benefits and threats;

2) use the scenario most likely (as judged by the group) as the focus for planning;

3) test out strategies and plans against the assumptions of other scenarios;

4) use other scenarios to develop contingency plans, or major likely contingencies;

5) link scenarios to on-going environmental scanning and monitoring.

Perhaps most significant in this list is number 5. This paper can only suggest possible futures and trends and relationships associated with them. Its use is limited without on-going monitoring of trends and environmental scanning.

If the field wants to employ the technology of forecasting as a way to help organize decisions, forecasting must be linked to a process that empirically monitors trends. If it wishes to utilize scenario development *per se* as a technology, it will need to link scenarios to the environmental monitoring process.

Rather than doing this on a state by state basis, it may well be worth considering a national future planning and environmental monitoring process sponsored through national organizations such as the National Association of State Directors of Special Education. This process could then be augmented by monitoring of state trends. *The most important implication of this paper for the field is to suggest that future forecasting be part of the on-going planning methods used for persons with developmental disabilities.*

It should be noted that the above methodology is based upon the potential threats and benefits scenarios pose to organization or a population. Rather than seeing negative trends or scenarios as 'givens', this methodology lets the user view them as actionable matters: that is, as something they can do something about. One does not want to view all the elements of a scenario as unavoidable.

A lesson from forecasters is that it is better to ask how badly one wants to avoid a certain future than it is to plan around a negative future that is seen as unalterable. The future, by its very nature, is not fixed. This is the way to think about any negative scenarios and their implications for people with disabilities.

Summary of Key Implications of Scenarios for Persons with Disabilities

Table II presents key implications of each scenario for persons with disabilities and their families. Implications are grouped under the following topic headings: values, employment, integration, technology, quality of services, minorities, support services (family and independent living), housing and education.

In each cell, both general and specific implications are presented. The content of each cell is a summary of likely conditions, beneficial or threatening, that would exist for people with disabilities under that scenario. With a monitoring system in place, one could use this data as Wilson suggests. The most likely condition would be used as the basis for planning and strategies would be checked against other possible futures.

One Probable Future and Its Implications

Without a system of on-going monitoring that links trends to particular futures, forecasting must be based upon a single "best guesstimate" about which scenario(s) are emerging. This single best guess way of thinking about an unpredictable future places 'all ones eggs in one basket' and is considered risky by future forecasters. With this in mind, the remainder of this section projects implications for persons with disabilities and their families based on this scenario and current trends.

Thinking about the most probable future from the perspective used in this paper means asking ourselves what is most likely to happen to our economy and values in the next ten years? Will our economy successfully reindustrialize? Will we become a society based upon a service economy? Will the information society transform American life? Or, will the economy falter, or even fail? Do traditional values of individual achievement, materialism, and competition remain dominant? Or, will more communitarian values emphasizing group identity, service to others, relationships and not acquisition of objects flourish?

There are a number of reasons to think that the economy may slow but will not fail or seriously falter between now and 2000 (economic failure is far more probable in 2010-2020). Instead, we are likely to see a continued shift to a service economy, a slow erosion of America's competitiveness as a manufacturer, and a turn toward the telecommunica-

Table II.
Implications of Scenarios to Persons with Disabilities and their Families

Implications for:	America Revitalized	Post-Industrial Reformation	Stressed Society	Community Welfare
1. Values	•current emphasis on individual competitive and material values. •opportunities for economic and social independence for people with disabilities stressed. •emphasis on people with disabilities talking for themselves/participating in governance on the job site. •'ownership' by people with disabilities is important.	•less materialism, inner directedness, self-actualization, shared experiences, cooperation and compassion. •emphasis on personal growth of people with disabilities.	•'hard times' leads to self-survival: concern with issue of survival, making ends meet. •'us' or 'them' mentality poses serious threat to economic, social and personal welfare of people with disabilities. •potential for neglect, abuse, "death-making".	•conversation rather than consumption and emphasis on local self-sufficiency, effective approach to service delivery. •emphasis on neighborhoods taking care of their own. •voluntarism, openness and innovation in services.
2. Employment	•current opportunities for integrated and competitive employment will continue to expand. •workshops will continue to survive but in an increasingly competitive environment. •low unemployment good for industrial and service workers.	•cyclical unemployment during restructuring. •small # of workers go into telecommunications. •large # of jobs in the service sector. •geographic and career worker displacement. •possible under-employment of people with disabilities. •end of workshops.	•potentially high unemployment - over 20%. •growth of unemployment compensation, welfare. •public works projects a la depression era. •highly constrained work options for people with disabilities. •revenue shortfalls effect fiscal resources for supported employment. "no workshops.	•potentially high unemployment (17%) is offset so newhat by growth of underground economy employing people with disabilities. •growth of local cooperative also offset very high unemployment for people with disabilities. •high unemployment for people with disabilities generally. •"transformation" of workshops.
3. Integration	•integration into the workplace will be particularly possibble. •because of good employment opportunities, more resources allow people with disabilities even further access to generic settings. •continued progress toward community integration and placement.	•service economy may keep people with disabilities dependent (needy) service consumers. •values emphasizing shared experience/compassion are conducive to formation of personal support networks. •emphasis on participation in public decision-making.	•government funds to support integration programs will decrease. •with growing underclass, potential for increased integratioin between people at the bottom with or without disabilities (i.e., growth of class consciousness).	•emphasis on community and community self-sufficiency is conducive to integration of people with disabilities. •experimentation in local governance and gowth of special interest groups give people with disabilities opportunities to participate in community decisioin-making.
4. Technology	•rapid growth of both preventive and habilitative technology. •dissemination of technology through individual ownership. •growth of retail stores/mail order related to habilitative technology; marketing of technology. •work related technologies for people with disabilities.	•less rapid growth of habilitative technology •dissemination of technology is government controlled and subsidized. •growth in workplace technologies for people with disabilities.	•technology will continue to advance but at a slow rate. •availability of technology limited to people with financial resoources. •use of preventative technologies rationalized on a cost-efficiency basis.	•technologies will exist but their dissemination will be limited due to: 1) constraints on all government spending; 2) poor purchasing power of people with disabilities.

Implications For:	America Revitalized	Post-Industrial Reformation	Stressed Society	Community Welfare
5. Quality of Services	•relatively good resources/ tax base help ensure good services. •growth of private provider industry requires regulation. •growth of funding methodologies rewarding quality services and performance by providers.	•some spending occurs to offset effects of changing economy. •increased # of human service workers. •"experiments" with innovative, progressive service models.	•low quality of services due to lack of resources. •government assumes role of quality assurance monitor. •increased role for parents and protection/advocacy in assuring acceptable program standards.	•high degree of regional variety; varies on a community basis. •low fiscal resources, but relatively high human resources have effect on quality.
6. Minorities	•minority youth grow as sector of work force. •increased spending in health may deflect "minoritization" of disabilities. •increased resources in education may help alleviate drop out rate of minority students.	•minority youth grows as sector of work force. •a two-tiered system" system with minority under and unemployed; poor job advancement for minorities; •competition for service sector positions by large #'s of drop-outs. •increasing #'s of minorities in special education.	•minority youth grows as sector of work force. •minority youth are largely unemployed (85-90%). •"minoritization" of disabilities/special education.	•minority youth grow as sector of work force. •high unemployment of minority youth is somewhat offset by same factors as persons with disabilities. •growth of racially segregated communities that are self-governed. •minorities take control of their own lives.
7. Support Services [Family & Independent Living]	•continued changes in family structure (single parent, divorced, teenage parents) require rethinking of family support. •availability of funds related to maintaining a healthy, productive work force. •family support services at the work site. •increased development of independent living supports. •support services for families with young children and for elderly.	•worker displacement contributes to instability of family structure and life cycle. •some support programs for families effected by restructuring of economy.	•emphasis on generic support systems: welfare, unemployment compensation, public works. •increased stress on all kinds of families coupled with revenue shortfalls curtail almost all forms of non-generic family support services. •few private sector programs.	•general curtailment of all government spending and lack of private sector resources curtail formal Subsidized family support services. •growth of local, community organized systems of support for families who have members with disabilities.
8. Housing	•housing will continue to be a problem in urban areas because of high prices. •risk of bad housing conditions for poor, disabled in revitalized inner cities.	•housing in urban areas continues to be a problem due to high prices. •risk of crowded housing in inner cities for urban poor.	•depreciation of housing values in urban and rural areas, foreclosures on displaced workers, enhance availability of single family units and apartments. •crowded, poorly maintained substandard housing for many.	•depreciation of housing values increase availability of housing units to lower income persons. •growth of neighborhood efforts to maintain local housing. •potential for bad housing conditions but not as great as 'stressed society'.
9. Education	•growing consensus that education needs more resources. •gradual improvement in test scores. •more minorities in special education.	•emphasis on increasing level of competence of students/computer literacy. •more rigorous standard exams. •possible increased drop-out rate among minorities/ special education students. •adult education •decreased emphasis on special education to people with traditional development disabilities. •more minorities in special education.	•general educational decline except in rich areas. •"minoritization" of special education.	•great regional variation in educational quality. •special education will prepare people to live in the community; possible proliferation of standards and competencies in special education.

tions/information industries. This does not rule out short term recessions and growing pockets of stress and poverty such as described under the Stressed Society. Generally speaking, this is the kind of economy described under Post Industrial Reformation. The main traditional values still dominate American society and will likely continue to do so in the future.

Reasoning in this way, a most likely future between now and the year 2000 would be a growing service and information economy, and decreasing manufacturing capability. Traditional values will remain largely dominant, although communitarian orientation will likely increase.

Using this most likely future, current values and service philosophy should be used as the moral grounds for evaluating future planning strategies.

Values. The welfare of people with disabilities can be promoted under traditional or communitarian values. Should traditional values remain dominant we will see many of the same kinds of opportunities for persons with disabilities that we see today. Emphasis will continue to be in the independence, integration and productivity of this population. Economic and social independence will remain a focus of services at least until the mid-1990's. *The danger for persons with disabilities is under a Stressed Society where there is the possibility of erosion of values. It is these kinds of social conditions that can pose a serious threat to the welfare of people with disabilities.*

Employment. The economy will be more information and service based. Information industries will not significantly absorb workers with developmental disabilities. On the other hand there will be strong growth in service occupations until at least 1995 (Kiernan, Sanchez & Schalock. 1989: Stark & Goldsbury, 1988). Persons with disabilities will have to compete for these jobs, especially with underemployed, unskilled minority youth and increasing numbers of immigrants. But, due to a general shortage of workers entering the work force during this period, workers with disabilities will stand a chance to compete successfully. *Preparation of persons with developmental disabilities to enter service industries is an important employment strategy between now and the year 2000. The general decline in manufacturing competitiveness in a world wide economy may have increasingly negative consequences for workshops.*

Integration. Given adequate, if not desirable, levels of resources coupled with the currently prevailing value system, continued attempts at integrating persons with disabilities in the fabric of community will likely continue. Integration into the work place will likely be a major service focus because it increases independence and social integration.

A growing modality of integrating persons into the community, and outgrowth of the communitarian value system, will be the bridge-building and circle of friends orientation. Because these helping forms are often staffed by unpaid volunteers and friends, they are well-suited to shrinking fiscal resources for services.

Technology. The next decade is likely to see a rapid growth of habilitative and preventive technology within a free market approach. The government will attempt to create good market conditions for the development and sale of adaptive technology. This will include the development of adaptive equipment stores, perhaps associated with rehabilitation centers with this capability. Because of the emphasis on employment we will see a growth in work place related technologies.

The growth in sophisticated communication technologies for persons with disabilities will create the possibility of meaningful social and economic integration of a huge numbers of individuals. The problems associated with this growth in technology between now and 2000 will be primarily those of equity and access.

Minorities. The percentage of minority persons with or at risk for developing developmental disabilities will continue to grow. More of these persons will be in special education class rooms. More minorities will develop disabilities from non-traditional causes such as AIDS, drug abuse, and dual diagnosis; they will require complex diagnosis and treatment.

Minorities will include increasing members of immigrants. The increased numbers of minorities in developmental disabilities services will present cultural, social and language challenges to the system, particularly special education.

Housing. Housing problems for persons with developmental disabilities will continue through the year 2000. This is especially true in urban areas where homes will continue to be expensive until the retirement of the baby boom generation around the year 2010. Rents will also continue to be high in urban areas thus limiting expansion of small community residences and apartments.

These housing conditions will also effect the lives of persons with disabilities who are outside the service system. Many of these persons will have to continue to reside with their parents. Others who wish to leave the home, but not enter the residential service system, may have to share rented apartments and homes with others.

Special Education. Standards in education generally will be up-graded due to recognition of competency of the work force issues. This may be a threat to special education populations who do not score well on standardized examinations. Special education and vocational outcome will be increasingly linked. This means special education will prepare adolescents and adults for service economy careers. There will be an increased number of minority and immigrant persons in special education, which will present serious challenges to the system.

Adjusted for local trends and factors, these implications are good departing points for intermediate range planning in the disabilities field.

Beyond 2000

While one can understand current fascination with the year 2000, it is the decade of 2010 - 2020 that is likely to be a crucial period in the history of America. It is during this time that a confluence of social trends could pose a serious threat to quality of life for many Americans. We know that public education is not as good as it should be. We see increasing poverty in the lower classes and decreased purchasing power in the middle classes.

The birth rate is overall declining. If unaddressed what could these trends, taken together, mean when the baby boom population retires in the 2010 - 2020 period? Who will replace this work force? How well educated and trained will the work force be? How competitive will the American economy be? What will be the effect of the retirements upon the Social Security system? What will happen when retirees sell their homes? With shrinking tax revenues, who will pay for needed services for persons with developmental disabilities? Will there be enough professional staff to provide services? These are but some of these issues America is likely to face during this period.

With these kinds of social problems, the decade of 2010-2020 will be a most critical period in American history. *Precisely because we know that these events can occur and because of the changeability of future possibilities, this period is a very logical focus for planning.* What happens during this time will effect the welfare of all Americans. It is at such a juncture that we could see the development of the Stressed Society or Community-Welfare Society. Such radical shifts will profoundly effect the welfare of persons with disabilities and their families.

Summary

Future forecasting can be a very useful planning tool for persons with developmental disabilities and their families. In this paper one such methodology, the future scenarios method, was employed to map possible futures between now and the year 2000. It was suggested that *the most practical and efficacious use of this method would be through on-going trend analysis that links trends to future scenarios.* Implications of these futures for persons with disabilities were examined. These were evaluated by using the current value base, upon which there appears general agreement. Finally, a most probable future was forecasted and specific implications for this population identified. The period of 2010-2020 was noted as critical for planning the continued development of American society.

Reference Notes

Note 1- The appropriateness of these scenarios for the field of disabilities and their current validity as forecasting scenarios was corroborated by several key informants in future forecasting and in developmental disabilities (Clement Bezold. Wolf Wolfensberger, Steve Taylor, Ethan Ellis, Edward Roberts, John Powers and others. December, 1988, personal communication). These experts also stressed the necessity to link discussions of values in the field to specific future scenarios. Bezold, an international leader in future forecasting, suggested that the scenarios developed by United Way, while with limitations, are still basically valid and the best existing scenarios of which he is aware for this population.

Note 2- Yates (1986) describes the expansion of the role of special education under the two-tiered system to include children with disabilities from many new aetiologies, older persons and people requiring remedial education in order to work in the service economy. More of these students will be poor and minority. Yates projects that special education will change its focus towards worker preparedness because it, like vocational preparation programs for persons with disabilities, will be called upon to provide a cost beneficial accounting of its operations. Under Post-industrial Reformation, The Stressed Society and The Community Welfare Society, this is a likely development.

Note 3- This is not to imply that the values of Bridge Builders and Joshua Groups are linked exclusively to the Community Welfare Society. Opportunities for community-based local support networks based upon caring are also quite possible under other scenarios and especially under Post Industrial Reformation.

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National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Inc.
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